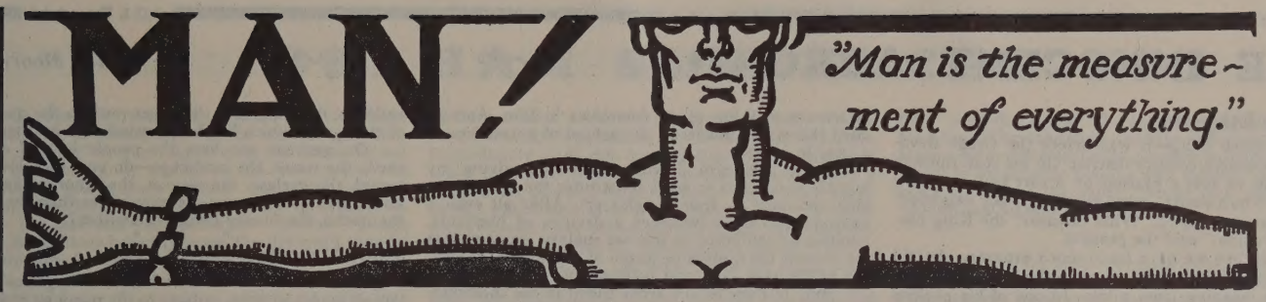
MAN!



"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 7.—No. 7 | Administration and Editorial Address: P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif. | Los Angeles, Calif., July, 1939 | 1 (505) | Single Copy 5 Cents

ON WAR AND NEUTRALITY

A large number of people in the United States favor intervention of the American people and their government in European politics and, eventually, in the war which international politics threaten to launch upon the world.

Heading these interventionists is President Roosevelt, who considers himself the leader of militant democracy and who is the supreme magistrate of a nation which holds a position of great political and economical prestige to defend. It is difficult, however, to indicate clearly when and where the role of the leader of democracy gives place to that of the head of the state. We can dispense with the explanation. Democracy affirmed itself in the world through its armed resistance to the prevarications of autocracy. Our own political and economic empire, like all others, was built by armed force, and it is destined to defend itself in the same manner.

This simple historical truth is understood even by the responsible leaders of reaction, as exemplified by the Republican Party. In fact, from ex-Secretary of State Stimson to Senator Borah—respectively representing, within the party, the Hoover right wing and the liberal left—and, further still, to ex-Governor Landon, who as the last presidential candidate of the party is its recognized leader, there exists no dissension on the question of the foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration. They all favor it.

Among the interventionists, naturally, are found the industrial leaders who, through the possibility of war, foresee the opportunity of conquering the world's markets; the farmers, who know that prices of their products will soar high as a consequence of the increase in demand and, in general, all who can perceive the possibility of enormous profits in a prospective war. Those who desire to intervene in a possible war work to prepare it. The preparation for war necessitates the manufacture of arms and the building of aeroplanes, battleships, cannons and all kinds of war machinery. In this process of building the possessor of capital foresees large profits.

In this demagogy of intervention, the trade unions do not commit themselves. But the leaders know that they owe their present good fortunes to the supporting policy of the Roosevelt administration. Therefore, by reason of personal inclination and because of speculative purposes, they are supporters of the administration's policies. Part of the government's appropriations for armaments is used for wages; out of these wages the workers must pay fat pecuniary tributes to the trade union bureaucracy.

Finally, we have a category of interventionists comprising all those individuals, groups and parties who, alarmed by the rapid expansion of fascism in the world, see no way of checking it other than by a military coalition of the so-called democratic powers. Liberals who forget a tradition which admonishes that the best bulwark against tyranny is the liberty of the citizen; democrats who no longer trust in the resourcefulness of the people; socialists of every shade who buried in the cellar the theory of social revolution and international solidarity and relegated in the attic the theory of class struggle; communists consumed by a masochism which makes them anxious to obey the orders of Russian dictatorship with a blind and silent discipline; proletarians illuded, misled and exasperated by the sterile demagogy of their false shepherds—they are all for intervention; they are all at the heels of Mars in the futile hope that the miracle of regeneration will blossom on the bloody trail.

What a strange union under the banner of intervention: the head of an imperialistic plutocracy and the heralds of proletarian dictatorship: the fatalist disciples of Karl Marx and the greedy worshippers of capitalistic monopoly; the arms manufacturers and those who advocate the abolition of world frontiers.

The disorientation of minds could not be more clearly illustrated.

* * *

The advocates of neutrality constitute a legion not less heterogeneous than that of the interventionists. These advocates of neutrality deprecate the demagogical intervention of our government in extra-continental politics. First among them are those who are pacifists out of philosophical or religious convictions. They are, perhaps, the least numerous but surely the only respectable ones.

Next come the isolationists, snails within their own shells, who favor "autoarchy." They are only interested in what happens in their own house, and their only preoccupation is to embellish and enrich it. They live under the illusion that their house can be safe in a world set afire. Politically they are plain provincials who cannot see beyond the steeple of their own parish church; intellectually they are minors who do not rise to the level of understanding the universal solidarity of mankind.

Thirdly, we have the professional patriots—apostles of reaction and outright fascists who, apparently, favor neutrality for reasons of domestic and foreign policies. At home they need to present the mild reforms of Roosevelt as an appendix of Marxian Bolshevism and, therefore, a danger for the capitalist order; abroad they strive to abet and promote fascism, which is their ideal form of political and social organization and which they would want to impose on their country. This category of non-interventionists is represented by Senator Reynolds of North Carolina and Representative H. Fish of New York in the field of national politics. In the journalistic field in this country, this category includes William Randolph Hearst and his colleagues—not excluding the fascist press in the Italian and German languages. On the radio, it is represented by "Father" Coughlin and a host of minor barkers.

All these people pretend to be for peace now, for political and social speculation; all of them, however, will be for war as soon as they hear the first trumpet call. They hate democracy and, consequently, hate the campaign launched—more or less in bad faith—in defense of democracy by Rooseveltian and anti-fascist interventionists. They are, at the same time, admirers of fascism and do not eye with pleasure any anti-fascist move on the international chess-board.

These adventurers, however, will all be in favor of war—even if the war will be against the coalition of fascist dictatorships—because war will give them the pretext for instaurating a domestic dictatorship. They will be in favor of war because they are professional patriots and must be second to none in flaunting the national flag. They will be in favor of war, finally, because the safety of their country does not permit that naval power of friendly Britain, in the two great oceans encircling the New World, be substituted by the naval power of Germany and Japan.

* * *

True revolutionists see no reason why they should take sides with either of the two coalitions of imperialist powers; they remain faithful to the cause of the emancipation of all the disinherited of the world.

The revolutionists are few—in this country as well as in every other part of the world—but this notwithstanding, their position is none the less logical and correct. They are not represented in national politics; they have only a small say both in the press and on the radio. But he who might interrogate the inner conscience of the masses of disinherited would find an unthought of approval of the position taken by the revolutionists.

Revolutionists are not interventionists because, in the face of the two coalitions of cheats who are contending for world dominance through the sacrificing of the lives of their respective peoples, they feel that it is their moral and political duty to fight in defense of the right to live, in defense of the anonymous mass of humanity which will be called for slaughter, in war, which will be compelled to sweat in an ammunition plant which will be made to work and suffer for generations to come and thus pay for the expenses of war.

Revolutionists are not interventionists because, even though they hate fascism and are ready to fight to prevent its expansion, they also know from experience that the so-called democratic regimes harbor less adversity for fascism than they do for the freedom of the people. Revolutionists do not deem it dignified for themselves, nor do they believe it to be advantageous for the disinherited of the world, to march to war against each other for the exclusive profit of masters and tyrants. They are not interventionists, finally, because they refuse to bear arms against the people of other countries. Instead, they maintain for themselves the right to appeal to the spirit of solidarity of those people in order to use the force of arms against the common enemy.

True revolutionists are neither for intervention nor neutrality. They are not for neutrality because they are not pacifists, not traditionalists, not isolationists and, above all, because they are against the present order of things.

No world event leaves the revolutionists indifferent. The expansion of fascism is a greater cause for alarm to them than it is to the politicians who advocate intervention. To stop this expansion, the revolutionists gave warning and resorted to action when bourgeois and pseudo-socialist interventionists were either feigning to be deaf or were working in favor of the birth, growth and expansion of fascism.

To see a danger, to warn against it and to want to stop it does not imply the duty to accept any means of cambatting it. It does not imply that the revolutionists must accept war—the only means of combat which the so-called democracies are capable of offering and even imposing—since it is known that fascism sprung from an imperialistic war. Besides, there is no proof that the so-called democratic governments have the least desire of stopping and defeating fascism inasmuch as it represents a system of political tyranny—the aspect which makes fascism hateful to revolutionists and pernicious to peoples and to civilization.

The war which is in the making cannot bring any benefit to the people of the world. Revolutionists are concerned about the fate of mankind on the verge of being thrown into an unfathomable abyss, and rather than help the destructive forces of war—they rely on their conscience and reason to resolutely throw into the abyss the exploiters, despots and executioners—all of them authors of fascism, imperialism and war.

True revolutionists are against intervention and against neutrality because they are for the revolt of the oppressed against the oppressors.

M. S.

LYNCHING GOES ON . . .

On the eight of May at Canton, Miss., a Negro named Joe Rodgers was lynched. He was a workman at a lumber company, and was notified by his foreman that he had to live in the mill quarters. He refused to obey these orders. However, the company deducted from his weekly wages the sum of $5.50 for rent just as if he were living in the mill quarters. This Rodgers protested and asked for his full payment. His foreman struck him with a shovel and Rodgers struck him back with one, whereupon he was captured, tied hand and foot, shot, tortured with red-hot irons and cut and the body thrown into the Pearl River.

This man was a deacon of Mt. Zion Babtist Church at Canton, president of the choir, and had a splendid record in every way. The newspapers of Canton have not written a word and there have been no arrests made. The Negroes have been told not to discuss the incident.

The sheriff of Canton is C. H. James. The mayor of the town is C. N. Harris.

* * *

Other lynchings during 1939, listed with the N. A. A. C. P., are:

February: Eldorado, Ark.—Walter Lee Frazier, alleged to have "molested" white people, shot.

March: Woodcliff, Ga.—Charley Williams, accused of having said "something to a white woman that she didn't like," snatched from a freight train and hanged.

April 1: Panama City, Fla.—Miles W. Brown (white), convicted of first-degree murder for the killing of a former employer, shot to death after being taken from jail by a band of masked men.

April 29: Daytona Beach, Fla.—Lee Snell, Negro Taxi driver, shot to death on a highway near Daytona Beach while being taken to jail.

—NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

THE INNOCENT ABROAD

Betty Moorrison

Modern Etiquette

A French King—it was before the Great Revolution—visited a country district. On the road through the woods he met a peasant on a cart loaded with a coffin. "Who's dead?" asked the King. "My neighbor" the peasant answered. "What disease?" the King pursued. "Hunger," said the peasant.

Since then we have made much progress. An old man's body was recently found in the brushes around Berkeley, hanging from a tree. In one of his pockets a note was discovered, telling that the old fellow had no home, no work, and nothing to eat. But the coroner's jury did not render the verdict "Hunger," they merely said "Suicide." That's more polite to the capitalists, the bankers and the State!

* * *

Freedom of Speech

Neither fanatics nor purely practical persons can understand the value of free speech. Fanatics believe so much in their own theoretical fancies that they cut off the heads, figuratively at least, of those who express disagreement. Practical persons, noticing that some who speak and write get temporarily in the way of routine or the immediate smoothness of their maladministration, also cut-off the heads, figuratively when not actually, of those who express disagreement with their economic or political methods.

In order to understand the value of free speech, one must not consider the present so much as the future. Free speech is moral capital to be used in the future character production. It is moral insurance against the future imprisonment of the mind. It is an indication of the faith in the potentiality of individual mind. It is the full and factual recognition, that truth is not finished and that any new right that may come must be welcomed and not extinguished.

Federal Judge Leon Yankwich, who sentenced Marcus Graham for refusing to incriminate himself, says the defendant fails to distinguish between right and wrong free speech. But as soon as this distinction is made there is no free speech.

* * *

Black Sheep in the Legal Fold

Frank T. Walsh, labor attorney and legal counselor for Tom Mooney, passed away in the East. The demise of the average representative of that profession whose main function is to get good people into trouble and bad people out of trouble, wouldn't be deemed worthy of a cursory note in this column. A notable exception, Walsh reached the zenith of his professional career fully cognizant of the futility of righting the world's wrongs via the legal route.

Of the dead say nothing but the truth, says an ancient maxim, revised to fit this occasion when Walsh, in defense of a lowly who had transgressed the canons of private property, uttered this challenge: "It is positively shameful to hurl a 'thou shall not steal' at a hungry or ragged human being. Let us all dress up and have dinner before we talk morals."

* * *

My Heart at Thy Sweet Voice

No, my friends, I'm not going to give you a rendition of Saint-Saens' "Samson and Delilah." While I am on the subject of laws and lawyers I just want to point out a flagrant case of class discrimination before the bar of common sense. Justice, though portrayed blindfolded as a symbol of impartiality, seems to have a well-developed auricular sense, a fulfilment of the law of compensation. Accordingly, she may be as blind as a bat but she can hear the clink of a dollar in the dark.

As evidence of the truth of my assertion I quote two typical cases gleaned from the daily press: Mose Johnson, colored, age 11, was sentenced to 11 years in the Alabama penitentiary for having stolen a purse containing 11 dimes. In Savannah, Georgia, Charles W. Ellsworth, vice-president of a local bank, got away with a sway of $67.500, and a merciful judge reluctantly meted out a bare one year in the county jail.

This, it seems, is equality before the law—with a vengeance. After wracking my brain to arrive at a precise formula to gauge the relative proportion between crime and punishment, I come to a happy conclusion relative to the gradation of theft:

Stealing $1,000,000—genius.
Stealing $500,000—sagacity.
Stealing $100,000—shrewdness.
Stealing $50,000—missfortune.
Stealing $25,000—irregularity.
Stealing $10,000—missappropriation.
Stealing $5,000—speculation.
Stealing $2,500—embezzlement.
Stealing $1,000—swindling.
Stealing $100—larceny.
Stealing a ham—war on society.

* * *

A Layman on Art

An artist, among the convivial gathering at Gilroy, gave me an extended dissertation on modern art. In appraising the labors of his brethren who are seeking new forms of expression, he ventured to say that, after all, an artist who develops a new technique or entertains a modern conception of art must necessarily have something of an Anarchist in him. And he cited the strides made by the school of surrealism as a case in point.

Being a layman, I will refrain from giving my humble opinion as to what constitutes the most desirable approach to true or false art. After all even a consummate artist, whether a devotee of literature, painting or sculpture, in the last analysis, must choose for himself the preferable media of expression, according to his own bent and inclinations.

But, as I see it, our artist friend in his enthusiastic plea for the new, confuses form with substance, thereby losing sight of the very essence of art and artifice which implies meaning, purpose, and the daring of conviction. One can apply extreme revolutionary form to reactionary substance—and vice versa. As an illustration, all the sculpture adorning the edifices of the Fair teems with ultra-modern treatment, while its concept painfully reminds me of the enigmatic countenance of an Egyptian sphinx.

The conflict between form and substance is clearly perceived in Richard Wagner, a confirmed radical in music, though the subjects chosen for his operas were mostly based on childish mythological subjects of teutonic origin. Our Voltairine de Cleyre, the impeccable stylist in literary form, was most revolutionary in concept and in philosophy. In Spain, Saavedra's "Prometheus Unbound," destroyed by Franco's vandals, was probably the most daring and comprehensive essay of sculpture extant. Yet, its treatment, both in style and form bear unmistakable traces of a blending of Moorish and Renaissance influence.

In conclusion, give us art that is both convincing and sincere. One with a social purpose, one capable of making us think and feel, and we won't quarrel whether it belongs to the realist, impressionist, cubist, futurist or surrealistic school—give us art that is subversive and free!

* * *

Nature—A Mother in Law

"The sole issue facing mankind today," says our editor, "is a choice between the present destructive system of capitalism and its agents or their replacement by a genuine co-operative society including all mankind. The oppressed of the world have the power to make the choice. The sooner they realize this, the sooner will the world become the happy and beautiful paradise meant it to be at all times."

Verily, the issue is clear. A choice must be made between the chaotic political system of the retainers of wealth and the freeman's society of equals. Living as we do, in this sorry world of strife and discontent, be it far from me to silence a distant joyous note or dispel the glowing anticipation of "a happy and beautiful paradise." But, may I ask, when, where and how does nature reveal its meaning or design in shaping events conducive to our well-being?

Nature unless we endow it with attributes peculiar to a deity which, by the way, has always fooled us in the past, is amoral and totally indifferent to our plight. It is not at all concerned with the success or failure of our efforts, man's struggle for life has ever been a stern challenge to nature. With the dawn of thought, and with the fruits of accumulated experience of the race, man has been able to control, direct, defend himself against the encroachment of nature and survive. Nature, from time immemorial, has proven to be a good servant but a bad mistress!

* * *

Holds World in Hollow of Hand

The greatest power that ever existed on this earth is in the hands of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. His is the power of life or death over the entire human race. He can cause war, maintain peace, starve or feed humanity—in short he can destroy civilization. In 1921 his wealth was estimated at $2,400,000,000 in 1939 it's over $5,000,000,000—an income of $5,000,000 a week. A mere bagatelle!

A British journalist who interviewed Rockefeller recently, inquired how he spends most of his time, J. D. replied: "I labor incessantly." Quite true. But in view of the immense fortune he amassed at the expense of us gullible mortals his must be labor of absorption while ours is labor of production.

* * *

A Fourth of July Query

When you say that you love your country have you a clear, definite idea what it is that you love? Is it the earth? Then, should a portion of it, by the action of water, become a part of some island adjacent to the continent, would you love that island in exact proportion to the fraction of beloved soil which enters into its composition? Or do you love the water with which the earth is moistened. Then when this water has found its way to the sea, evaporated, and finally fallen in rain upon some tropical forest or in snow upon some wild polar waste, does your affection follow its eventful journeyings?

Or does your mind turn to a particular landscape when you say that you love your country, or, still more specifically, to the grass in a certain meadow? Then, when the grass has been fed to a herd of cattle, the cattle has been shipped to another continent—when, in short, the grass has become adipose and muscular tissue in a part of the meat-eating population of that continent, do you love its men, women and children, dogs and cats, in direct ratio to the quantity of that grass which has been assimilated by them?

Or, perhaps you love the people instead of the earth, the water, the landscape—do you, then love the brutal, the useless, the vicious, the ignorant and the uncultured of your own country better than the kind, the useful, the liberty-loving of another?

* * *

There Must Be a Limit

In her "My Life as a Rebel," Dr. Angelica Balabanoff pays a glowing tribute to the memory of Elisee Reclus, the eminent geographer and scholar. She says, in part: "He was a remarkable personality, gifted with universal knowledge, whose lofty ethical conceptions permeated his whole life. A born teacher, he left an indelible and profound impression upon those who were fortunate enough to attend his inspiring lectures." "But," she adds, "I could not accept his Anarchist philosophy because it lacked causality."

In this abrupt fashion our worthy autobiographer conveniently dismisses Reclus' social, political and economical philosophy. Jawbreaking terms, deftly selected from the Socialist credo to lend weight and potency to one's argument, might silence the unwary, but a more than superficial study of this question warrants a few objections. As I understand it, causality, in philosophy, is the relation in which cause stands to effect and effect to cause. Accepting this definition, then the law of causality is either a fact or it is not. If it is not, reference to something that might exist only in the realm of an hypothesis is sheer waste of time and effort. But if it is a fact, if it is really a fundamental natural law, then the philosophy of Anarchism must be the effect of a cause—namely: the social experience of humanity which teaches that all government was born of aggression and is maintained by a ruling caste to perpetuate affluence and privilege at the expense of those who do the world's work.

To recognize the existence of a universal law so as to substantiate one's own particular hobby and suspend its operation at will when it also might be logically applied to bolster an opponent's philosophy, remind me of the reformer who naively remarked: "A little evolution is alright, but it must stop somewhere!"

* * *

Where Are We Heading?

Matron Heywood Broun, nee Presbyterian, president of the Newspaper Guild, erstwhile fellow-pilgrim to the Soviet Holy Synod of America, purveyor of froth phrases and flatulence to the liberal coterie dabbling in revolutionary superlative over cocktail glasses, has found orientation at last. The mist surrounding his motley, acrobatic career having dissipated, his troubled mind having found surcease in blind faith, his conscience sought haven and solace within the bossom of the Roman Catholic Church. Yes, Broun has abjured his pagan ways forever and ever....

Behold, then, the glorious spectacle of saintly, recreant Heywood Broun disguised as an ascetic, doning carol and cassok—revealed, retrieved, revolved, retrograded, rejuvenated, resurrected, resucitated, revived, reformed, renovated, restored, reincarnated, relaxed, refreshened, radjusted, redeemed, revamped, reborn, relieved, rehearsed—genuflected before the altar propitiating the Almighty God!

Jest aside, Broun's sudden convertion is to be taken with much mental reservation, and with the proverbial grain of salt. It is not many moons since his colleagues, the Kommissars, in the process of boring from within, proffered a welcome hand to the missions of the Catholic Church, only to receive a paternal fist—thumbing its nose.

Does Broun and his jesuitical political advisers actually believe they can insinuate themselves into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church—that past master of diplomacy, intrigue and machiavelism, beat them at their own game, and get away with it? The kiss that was to be impressed on Stalin's sacred toe parched his lips, and is now held in abeyance until that propitious occasion when the Holy Father will summon him to Rome to receive his token of fealty and devotion to the sacred cause....

* * *

Boring Conversion

In scanning the social horizon and listening to the saggy platitudes and bombastic pronunciamentos advanced by the various and sundry political saviors in their effort to stay in the saddle, I find a recurrence of thought and of method that obtained and fooled the gullible in the dismal past: Historical destiny, social contract, Roman glory, Saxon's Walhalla, grace of God, tablets of Moses, Allah, Buddha, Jesus—howling and blood-lusting Dervishes all!

What does it portend? That food is for the hungry, love is for lovers, tools are for the craftsman, art is for the painter and sculptor, no one will deny. But, some-day, in the not too distant future it will also be seen that money is for the banker, industry for the industrialist, law is for lawyers, government is for governors, dictatorship of the proletariat for the dictator.

After all, what does it matter whether it's a sword, a staff, swastika, a Roman fascie, a foot-rule, an umbrella or a handle of a hammer and sickle that rules us—it's always a stick!

GRAHAM SENTENCED

Our editor, Marcus Graham, once again has been sentenced to a prison term of six months for "contempt of court" as a consequence of his refusal to answer questions at a revival of the twenty-year-old deportation proceedings against him. The sentence was imposed by Federal Judge Harry A. Hollzer to whom the case was assigned after "liberal" Judge Leon R. Yankwich had granted the defense's request to disqualify himself.

A similar sentence for contempt, imposed upon Graham by Judge Yankwich on January 14, 1938, was reversed by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals which directed that the case be given a re-hearing, by Judge Yankwich, to determine which questions—not self-incriminating—Graham could be compelled to answer. The hearing on the order of the Court of Appeals was postponed a few times, but it finally started before Judge Yankwich on June 26, 1939. While the re-hearing was pending, the defense attorneys filed a writ of habeas corpus challenging the legality of the entire deportation proceedings as being in violation of the status of time and limitations and challenging also the constitutionality of the anti-anarchist law which the U. S. Supreme Court upheld in 1904. The writ contended that recent decisions of the Supreme Court have set aside its previous reactionary stand on these outmoded laws which plainly encroach upon the established right of freedom of the press and freedom of thought. Judge Yankwich refused to hear the petition for this writ, and it was then set for hearing before Federal Judge Ralph E. Jenny. Therefore, when the hearing on the contempt charge came up before Judge Yankwich on June 26, the defense attorneys requested that both issues be brought before Judge Jenny who would thus be placed in a position to make a fair appraisal of the issues involved. Judge Yankwich refused this fair request and, after consenting to disqualify himself, ordered the contempt charge to be heard immediately before Judge Hollzer. Judge Hollzer ruled on the self-incriminating qualities of the questions and ordered Graham to answer those questions which he held were not self-incriminating. Within one half hour, a special hearing was held by a Department of Labor inspector.

Graham refused to answer the questions and submitted a detailed statement on the twenty-year-old case. Immediately after this hurried hearing, Graham was taken before Judge Hollzer and sentenced to serve a term of six months. Oral notice of appeal was given to the Court, and after a few days Marcus Graham was released from jail on a $1000 bond (furnished by Mrs. Kate Crane-Gartz), pending the appeal.

The petition for the writ of habeas corpus was denied by Judge Jenny on the technical ground that after being sentenced to jail for contempt, Graham was no longer in custody of the immigration authorities against whom the writ was returnable. Thus, Judge Yankwich's unfair denial to place both proceedings before Judge Jenny and the unjustifiable insistence that Graham be tried for contempt before the petition for habeas corpus was heard becomes self-explanatory. (An appeal against Judge Jenny's denial of the writ was also filed.)

We can understand Judge Yankwich's harsh resentment towards the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee for daring to send him a letter which criticized his handling of the case and requested a fair application of the law. But we fail to see how the Judge could show so much bitterness that he stated that "any other Judge who received this letter would have the entire committee brought in and sent to jail." Does a United States Judge administer human justice, which is admittedly humble and fallible, or does he place himself in the papal throne and administers "divine and infallible" justice?

* * *

These are the latest developments in the twenty-year-old persecution of our editor and in the brazen attack on the freedom of the press as exemplified by the harassment brought upon some of our readers and the attempted indirect suppression of this modest but incorruptible journal. It seems to us that, in contradiction with heralded liberal policies of the present administration, every agency of the government is conspiring to mete out to Marcus Graham and this publication the full measure of authoritarian vindictiveness. The febrile haste and the unwarranted display of ample and methodical preparedness of legal traps in tracking down a single harmless individual give a true and clear picture of this vindictiveness. It will undoubtedly seem unbelievable to some true liberals that a Judge who has prided himself in wearing the halo of liberalism should aid and abet this vindictiveness.

This journal may succumb to or may survive the well organized attack on its existence. Its editor may be condemned to suffer continued persecution or may be set comparatively free. But the damning shame of these persecutions, carried on in the face of hypocritical praises to liberty—praises coming from opposite corners of the corrupt political arena—will stand as an everlasting brand of ignominy on a civilization unable and unwilling to defend the natural and inalienable rights of its humblest artificer.

* * *

An Appeal

The readers of MAN! and those interested in the fight which we are carrying on to stop the menaced deportation of Marcus Graham are, without doubt, aware of the fact that funds are needed to carry on this important fight to save an individual from the persecutions which have been carried on against him for the last twenty years and to establish his right to reside in this country without being molested further.

Those who have followed the case of Marcus Graham know by this time that he was again sentenced to a prison term of six months on June 26th last because he refused to answer questions put to him by the Court. The case has been appealed. A writ of habeas corpus has been denied by a Federal Judge, and an appeal against this decision has also been filed.

The flagrant disregard of every concept understood as "due process of law" that has been enacted in the latest series of maneuvers to jail Graham will, we feel certain, arouse every one who holds dear the inalienable right of freedom of thought to immediately write to Attorney General Frank Murphy, Washington, D. C., requesting him to have the Civil Liberties Branch of the Department of Justice investigate the 20-year-old series of lawless persecutions inflicted upon Marcus Graham.

Copies of this demand upon Attorney General Murphy should be sent also to the press and to our committee.

We also wish to remind everyone that several months ago we issued a pamphlet on the Graham case—"Freedom of Thought Arraigned." We have sent out thousands of copies of this pamphlet which has no fixed price but which is available upon request. Lack of funds prevents us from sending out the remaining copies we have on hand.

We hope that no individual or group who desires to see the inalienable right of freedom of thought in this country preserved and who feels that our work is important and of value will fail to respond to our call with a financial contribution which will help us to go on with our fight.

MARCUS GRAHAM FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE, P. O. BOX 971, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

Is This "Due Process of Law"?

In a story on June 28, 1939, the Los Angeles Times wrote as follows:

"When Walter E. Carr, district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, presented himself in Federal Court yesterday to answer a petition for a writ of habeas corpus to produce Marcus Graham, radical editor, it was with an air of imperturbable calm.

When the writ was brought up in Judge Ralph E. Jenney's court, Carr admitted that he could not produce Graham in court.

Graham, he explained, is in the custody of United States Marshal Bob Clark as a result of being convicted of contempt of court for refusing to answer questions from immigration inspectors.

On Monday Judge Harry A. Hollzer sentenced Graham to six months in jail on the contempt charge.

"The court informed Attorney A. L. Wirin, counsel for Graham, that after the latter serves his sentence and considers himself still restrained, Wirin will be free to sue out a writ."

And further proof of the kind of "legal justice" was meted out to Graham is to be found in the story that appeared in the Los Angeles Examiner of June 28, 1939, reading as follows:

"Assistant United States Attorney Ralph Lazarus represented to the court that the habeas corpus writ had been directed to Walter E. Carr, head of the naturalization and immigration service here, and that immigration officials did not have Graham in their custody.

"The habeas corpus petition involved the legality of a deportation order issued against Graham, and also the legality of various immigration hearings affecting the alien.

"Upholding Lazarus in his legal argument, Judge Jenney pointed out that if the writ were issued it would interfere with the orderly proceedings of the court and "unnecessarily complicate proceedings," inasmuch as Judge Harry Hollzer had previously ordered Graham committed.

"Judge Jenney pointed out that Graham is not to be denied his "day in court" because new habeas corpus proceedings may be instituted after he serves his contempt sentence."

The above two stories taken from two daily newspapers raise some very serious questions that ought to concern every sincere believer in "due process of law" as guaranteed by the Constitution.

First, Judge Jenny issued the writ of habeas corpus on Friday June 23, 1939. The brief asking for the writ **challenged all the proceedings** in the Graham case, the scheduled re-hearing for Monday June 26, 1939 on the contempt charge, included. Why, one must ask, didn't Judge Jenny set a hearing on the writ for any time **before the scheduled contempt hearing?**

Second, why did the "liberal" Judge Yankwich refuse to postpone the contempt charge re-hearing until the writ of habeas corpus will have been disposed of **first?** Failing to do this—why did he also refuse to **transfer the contempt charge to Judge Jenny** so as to consolidate it with the hearing on the writ?

Third, why did Judge Hollzer refuse, as did Judge Yankwich, to **postpone** a hearing on the contempt charge or the **transfering** of the case to Judge Jenny?

Fourth, why did the Assistant United States Attorney Mr. Lazarus, **resist every motion** of Graham's attorneys before Judge Yankwich and Hollzer to **postpone action on the contempt charge until after the writ was first disposed of?**

The guilty conscience of Mr. Lazarus must have perturbed him somewhat when on Monday June 26, 1939 he stated before Judge Hollzer: "The Government insists on having Graham tried today—although I know that Mr. Graham will assert that the proceedings prove that we are trying to railroad him to jail . . ."

The position Mr. Lazarus took before Judge Jenny the very next day left no doubt as to the correctness of Mr. Lazarus' supposition as to what Graham would conclude from the kind of "legal justice" that was being meted out to him by three Federal Judges, a U. S. District Attorney and the Labor Department.

An Example Worth Following

Monteagle, Tennessee
Highlander, Folk School
June 26, 1939

Mr. Frank Murphy
Attorney General
Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. Murphy:

At a meeting of our Teachers Local, the case of Marcus Graham was discussed. We believe that the long years of persecution of this man is a clear violation of his constitutional rights, and as teachers, we are especially interested in freedom of expression.

We respectfully request that the Civil Liberies branch of the Department of Justice make an investigation into this case.

Sincerely yours,

William T. Buttrick
Secretary, AFT Local No. 261

Books and Pamphlets on Anarchism

ALDRED, GUY A.: Socialism and Parliament ..... .25
ALLEN, GRANT: The Evolution of the Idea of God ..... .40
BADCOCK, JOHN, Jr.: Slaves to Duty ..... .10
BAKUNIN, MICHAEL: God and the State ..... .35
BARRET, GEORGE: The Anarchist Revolution ..... .05
" " Objections to Anarchism ..... .10
BERKMAN, ALEXANDER: Now and After $1.00
BORGHI, ARMANDO: Mussolini—Red and Black ..... .75
CARPENTER, EDWARD: Love's Coming of Age ..... .75
DAVID, HENRY: The History of the Haymarket Affair $1.25
DE CLEYRE, VALTAIRINE: Anarchism and American Traditions ..... .10
FAURE, SEBASTIEN: Does God Exist? ..... .10
GODWIN, WILLIAM: Reflections on Political Justice .10
GRAHAM, MARCUS: An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry $2.00
Deluxe Edition $4.00
HAVEL, HIPPOLYTE: What's Anarchism? ..... .10
KROPOTKIN, PETER: An Appeal to the Young ..... .05
" " Anarchist Communism ..... .10
" " Law and Authority ..... .10
" " Modern Science and Anarchy ..... .25
" " Revolutionary Government ..... .05
" " Memoirs of a Revolutionist $1.00
" " Ethics $2.00
LABADIE, JOE: Anarchism: Genuine and Asinine ..... .15
MALATESTA, ENRICO: A Talk Between Two Workers ..... .10
NETTLAU, MAX: Enrico Malatesta (Biography of an Anarchist) ..... .35
OPPENHEIM, FRANZ: The State ..... .75
OWEN, WM. C.: Anarchism vs. Socialism ..... .10
RAMUS PIERRE: Why Does Anarchy Progress So Slowly? ..... .05
READE, WINWOOD: The Martyrdom of Man ..... .60
STIRNER, MAX: The Ego and His Own $1.50
SWARTZ, CLARENCE: Mutualism ..... .85
THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY IN SPAIN (1840-1936) ..... .10
TOLSTOY, LEO: War and Peace ..... .75
TUCKER, BEN. R.: Individual Liberty ..... .75
" " " Why I am an Anarchist ..... .10

* * *

Please add 2 cents postage on each pamphlet and 5 cents on each book. Order through Youth Group, 118 Cook Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., or through MAN!

Teachers Show Splendid Example

Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee
June 26, 1939

Miss Frances Perkins
Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.
Dear Miss Perkins:

At a meeting of our Teachers Local, the case of Marcus Graham was discussed. We believe that the long years of persecution of this man is a clear violation of his constitutional rights, and as teachers, we are especially interested in freedom of expression.

We respectfully request that this prosecution be dropped.

Sincerely yours,

William T. Buttrick
Secretary, AFT Local No. 261

SPAIN — LAND OF STRUGGLE AND HEROISM

The Spain of July 19, 1936 aroused the admiration and enthusiasm of the world. It was the admiration and enthusiasm of all those whose heart-throbs grew increasingly fast as they witnessed the rebellion of an oppressed people against their tyrannical rulers. And thus we saw that from every part of the globe courageous enthusiastic people went to Spain, for they were needed to offer their lives and their energies to this heroic mass of people who had arisen and who were struggling to defeat the schemes and designs of the rulers of the world through their tool—Franco.

We, as anarchists, watched with undying fervor every move that was made on the battlefields and behind the front. Even though we were geographically far away from the scene of battle, morally we were within arm's reach. It was our fight. And because of this, we never hesitated to express our sympathy and solidarity for this great struggle. Our support for it manifested itself in our words and deeds.

Nevertheless, from time to time we have come forward, with self-imposed reservations, to point out that the road which the revolutionary movement in Spain was pursuing was a road leading to grave seriousness and disaster. Repeatedly we pointed out that: **to the extent that the Spanish struggle against the world's reactionary forces will be answered by factual social revolutionary achievements of a freed society—only to that extent can the heroic and valiant battle in Spain end in a victory for the oppressed.**

Our comrades in Spain, with a long and honorable past in all of the Spanish struggles of this century, were, numerically speaking, the strongest and most potent of the social movements in Spain. Their responsibility, therefore, was that much the greater.

We realized that the merging of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F. A. I.) with the organization of the anarcho-syndicalist movement (C. N. T.) was a dangerous step which would eventually lead to the disastrous end which we witnessed. We state this not for the purpose of wanting to receive credit as "prophets" but as a matter of record.

We knew of the many compromises made by the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain long before Franco staged his counter-revolution. We saw that those compromises were foreshadowing the even far more suicidal compromises which the same anarcho-syndicalist movement was to carry out by its joining the Loyalist government in its reign. It was this series of compromises which evoked our criticism and warning to our anarchist comrades.

We regret to state that our words were left unheeded. More than that, they brought upon us criticism, condemnation and boycott from those who could not or did not care to evaluate the criticism we offered in so sincere and friendly a spirit.

We feel that the most tragic of all the compromises made by the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain was that in which the C. N. T. joined in the so-called defense council of Madrid on the eve of its surrender. During these months we have never commented on the matter. All this time we have waited and hoped to hear or read a word of denial on the part of the Iberian Anarchist Federation in reference to its responsibility in so indefensible an act of compromise. We have waited in vain. Instead, we have before us a pamphlet entitled "Three Years of Struggle in Spain," a pamphlet issued in the name of the C. N. T., the Iberian Anarchist Federation and the Libertarian Youth. The pamphlet attempts to justify all the compromises made by the anarcho-syndicalist movement, not excluding the "defense council" of Madrid.

The publications "Revolt" (London, England), "Vanguard" and "Challenge" (New York City) had apologized for and defended the compromises made by the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. Concerning the horrible compromise of the Madrid defense council, not one of these publications evinced a clearer understanding of the seriousness of the matter and all of them came forward and attempted to justify that last act of compromise.

Having never approved of any of the compromises which our comrades in Spain made—under the shield of anarchism—, we can find no justification whatever for what happened on the eve of the fall of Madrid.

During the last few months, when we have remained silent on the outcome of the Spanish situation, we have hoped to hear or read some sort of realization on the part of those responsible for the series of compromises leading to the disastrous end of the struggle, that they, as revolutionists, made a grave mistake. Regretfully, instead, we note that the exact opposite is taking place. Utilizing the exposures made by Krivitsky (former general of the Red Army) and Louis Araquistain (former minister in the Caballero cabinet) in regard to the role played by the Stalin agents in Spain, our comrades **are forgetting to explain how they will ever be able to reconcile themselves to their own acts of compromise with the philosophy of anarchism to which they still claim fidelity.**

As for ourselves, we state as emphatically as we can that we hold no brief whatever for any one singular act of compromise made by our comrades during the two and a half years in which the people of Spain were so heroically fighting and sacrificing their very lives.

* * *

In spite of the fatal errors made by our comrades in Spain, we feel hopeful for the future of Spain. We sincerely feel that out of the ranks of our movement in Spain, as well as in other parts of the world, will resplendently arise intelligent courageous individuals who will reaffirm with words and actions the true conceptions of the anarchist philosophy. When this comes about, we shall witness the birth of a really **uncompromising** anarchist movement.

It is only in a consistent, coherent and strong anarchist movement that the momentarily vanquished people of Spain will find new inspiration and hope, a reassertion of that true and immutable revolutionary fervor which will spur them on to put an end to every form of oppression.

Out of the present dimness and darkness hovering over the people of Spain who have fought so bravely against oppression and tyranny, out of that darkness and momentary defeat of the people's cause we shall see the rekindling of the revolutionary spirit of the people. Out of today's darkness will arise the dawn of a new and shining brightness of tomorrow.

In the final analysis, we feel that the future still belongs to those who battle for freedom against slavery, justice against injustice, equality against inequality.

MAN!

MAN!

A monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: $1.00 per year, Six months Fifty Cents.—Sample Copies Free Upon Request

MAN! invites the collaboration of all writers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address:

MAN!

P. O. Box 971 Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

More Light On Spain

Three years ago the world witnessed the beginning of the greatest, noblest, most heroic yet most tragic human revolt of the century. It was the Spanish revolution which broke out on July 19, 1936. It is an important date in the pages of the political and social history of the world; it is a date which time will never be able to forget. Rather, it was an event which time will of necessity reassert and remember. The Spanish revolution, which became a complicated, international undeclared war of intrinsic complicity, was a long drawn-out battle. But during all the time the moral and physical strength of the people of Spain could not be crushed. Rather, it was the intervention of the great powers of the world—under the false pretense of non-intervention—which was responsible for the tragic end of the whole Spanish struggle.

During the two and a half years of bloodshed and sacrifices made by the people of Spain, the world silently, and sometimes indifferently, watched the game of bold interference in Spain as played by all the powers of the world. The world watched, too, the bold counter-revolutionary part played by the dictatorship of Russia.

We, as anarchists, have been able to justifiably call the Stalinist regime the chief agent of counter-revolution in Spain. We have been able to prove—by the very acts which the communists in Spain schemed, planned and precipitated—that the dictatorship of Russia will have to bear the brunt of responsibility for the tragic end of the struggle in Spain.

However, time alone will be able to furnish us and posterity with the intrinsic complicated underhand events which really took place during the long months of battle in Spain. It is natural, therefore, that from time to time someone will offer a fragment of the real story behind the Spanish front. This story will come from people of all ranks of life, for the struggle itself was witnessed by people in all walks of life. In this connection, we quote the following excerpts taken from a long exposé writen by W. G. Krivitsky, former general of the Red Army, director of the Soviet War Industries Institute in 1933-1934, and chief of its military intelligence in Western Europe from 1935 to 1937, and an excerpt from a series of articles written by Louis Araquistain, former ambassador to France in the Caballero regime.

It is not necessary for us to comment on the matter. The facts, as offered by one who held a key position in Stalin's government, and the opinion of one of Caballero's regime, will speak for themselves. We offer them as another version of the great and important story of the Spanish struggle; we offer them as the relation and interpretation of Stalinist intervention in Spain through the words of one who is "still a believer in the true communism of Lenin," and the other in Marxism.

* * *

W. G. Krivitzky Accuses . . .

"In his quest for security, Stalin turned his eyes toward Spain after the outbreak of the Franco rebellion. He made haste slowly, as he always does. First there was a period of watchful waiting, of furtive exploration. Stalin wanted to assure himself that there would be no quick and easy Franco victory.

"Then Stalin intervened in Spain, with the idea of creating in Madrid a vassal of the Kremlin. Such a vassal would secure, on the one hand, his ties with Paris and London, and strengthen, on the other hand, his bargaining position with Berlin and Rome. Once he owned the government of Spain, of vital strategic importance to France and Great Britain, his ship of state would find the security he had been seeking. He would be a force to be reckoned with, an ally to be coveted.

"But Stalin, unlike Mussolini, played it safe in Spain. The Soviet intervention might have been decisive at certain moments had Stalin taken the risks on the Loyalist side which Mussolini did on the Franco side. But Stalin risked nothing. He even made sure that there was enough gold in the Bank of Spain to more than cover the costs of his material aid to Madrid. Stalin took no chances of involving the Soviet Union in a great war. He launched his intervention under the motto: 'Stay out of the range of artillery fire.' This remained our guiding slogan throughout the campaign of intervention.

"From being the intended torch of flaming world revolution, the Comintern had degenerated to a more or less useful adjunct of Stalin's foreign policy. At his convenience he could use his lavochka ("a gyp joint") in any foreign country, to stir up, perhaps, some internal trouble for an unfriendly government or to affect public opinion on any international question.

"The secretary-general of the Comintern in Moscow, Dimitrov, the hero of the Reichstag fire trial which had ushered in the Nazi rule in Germany, was also in charge of the Spanish Communist Party. But five years of costly propaganda, aided by all the turmoil of the revolution, had produced in Spain a total of only 3000 Communists.

"The Spanish trade-unions and all the strong revolutionary parties remained obstinately anti-Communist. The Spanish republic after five years of existence, still refused to recognize the Soviet government and had no diplomatic relations with Moscow.

"The revelations of Italian and German military aid to Franco, and the desperate appeals of the various Spanish revolutionary leaders for foreign help, brought no response from the Kremlin. The civil war in Spain developed into a huge conflagration, and still Stalin remained silent and motionless.

"On Friday, August 28, 1936, Stalin issued a decree through the Commissar for Foreign Trade, forbidding 'the export, re-export, or transit to Spain of all kinds of arms, munitions, war materials, airplanes and warships.'

Meanwhile, Stalin called an extraordinary session of the Politbureau. The Political Bureau is the supreme authority of the party and, therefore of the Soviet government.

"At this Politbureau session, Stalin declared for immediate action in Spain.

"The Politbureau decided upon immediate action. Stalin doubly cautioned his commissars that Soviet aid to Spain must be handled with absolute secrecy, in order to eliminate any possibility of involving his government in war.

"At the same time, in Moscow, Stalin had instructed Yagoda, then chief of the Ogpu, to set up a branch of the Soviet secret police in Spain.

"One of the other decisions of this conference was to have the Ogpu police the movement of volunteers to Spain from every country. There is in the central committee of every Communist Party in the world one member who holds a secret commission from the Ogpu.

". . . Stalin's success in seizing control and using it as a weapon with which to force an English-French alliance with the Soviet government depended upon his breaking the powerful anti-Communist opposition within the loyalist camp. It was therefore essential to control the movement of these idealistic foreign volunteers to Spain, to prevent them from joining with the elements opposed to Stalin's policies and ambitions.

"Throughout the world there was a cry of anguished fury at the merciless bombing of almost defenseless Madrid. My organization performed miracles to hasten the transport of the fifty pursuit planes and bombers. In mid-October a Norwegian boat was loaded with them.

"And then I received strict instructions from Moscow not to permit that boat to deliver its cargo in Barcelona. . . . The government of Catalonia was dominated by revolutionists of anti-Stalinist persuasion. They were not trusted by Moscow, although they were then holding one of the most vital sectors of Loyalist front against fierce attacks from Franco's army.

(Continued on Page Eight)

DISSENSION AMONG MARXISTS

B. E. Resin

Opponents of Stalinism you will find among all social factions. First in line are the opponents found in the capitalist class with its countless groupings. Their opposition to Stalinism is, of course, self-explanatory: In the Soviet Union, private ownership, notwithstanding all arguments to the contrary, has been abolished, and the capitalist class has been exterminated.

More complicated of all the opposition to Stalinism is that found in the radical movement. Naturally the negative stand taken by anarchists towards Stalinism is very clear, logical and consistent. Whether the Soviet Union represents a proletarian state as the communists assure us— or simply another type of class-state—as we maintain—the fact remains that since it is a centralized state, the Soviet Union cannot, from the anarchist viewpoint, be approved. Where a centralized state (government) functions there is no room for economic equality and political freedom. In fact, there is no room for social justice of any kind.

However, it is worth while to dwell specifically on those opponents to Stalinism who are its very intimate kinsmen. I have in mind, of course, the Marxian opponents of Stalinism: the opposing communists (Lovestonites and Trotskyites) and the party-socialists of all shades and creeds. I shall only, by mere mention, point out the fact that all those factions combat each other in the name of the very same Marxian ideology. What interests me particularly is the fact that all these socialist factions launch their attack on Stalinism in the name of Marxism, thereby proclaiming that Stalin has betrayed the Russian revolution, that he has betrayed the Russian people as well as the working class of the world, that he has split and disintegrated the whole labor movement, that he has discredited and thrown the socialist movement a hundred years back. And all of those accusations, remember, are based on the very teachings and principles as laid down by Marx.

The Marxists never wished to recognize the important role the individual plays in the history of mankind. When this concerns Stalin, they suddenly forget their own theories and open an attack on Stalin—the individual—as though he himself is responsible for all that happens in Russia as well as in the whole international movement . . . .

This is without doubt an enormous contradiction. To us, however, the question of momentous interest is: Where did Stalin come from? Did he appear suddenly from Heaven? How did Stalin succeed in assuming control over so great a power as is the Russian state today?

Our response to this question is: Stalinism is a natural and direct inheritance of Leninism. Stalinism is a product of Marxism... The Stalin.. "course", his method of "cleaning" and "liquidating" all who dare stand in his way is the old worn-out road of Marxism. If Stalin should even wish to repudiate the Marxian theory, if he should even conceive the idea of coming out with an official declaration that Stalinism is something original and has no connection whatsoever with Marxism, it would be impossible for him to do so because of the organic and deep-rooted connection between Stalinism and Marxism. Marx taught us that the centralized state (government) is the means, the instrument which helps to bring in socialism. Marx, in contrast to Bakunin, has taught us that socialism can be realized only through the medium of a centralized state. The Marxists believe that a state controlled by the bourgeoise is in reality a form of oppression. If, however, the state is taken over by the working class, with which the social democrats have proclaimed their identification, it would then become an instrument for liberation.

The social democrats believed that the capitalist state could be transformed into a proletarian socialist state by means of parliamentary action. In those countries where the democratic regime is not yet established, it is imperative to lead a political campaign for a democratic republic. In countries where such regimes are already in existence, it is necessary that the workers should elect to parliament as many representatives from their ranks as possible. When the socialist parties will have filled the parliaments with a majority of their electorates, socialism will then emerge victorious: Social-democracy will then gain control over the government. That will be the introduction, the prologue to a proletarian dictatorship, to the golden epoch when socialism could take over the seat of capitalism.

This theory appeared so logical, so realistic and convincing that it attracted large numbers of the intelligentsia as well as many sections of the working class. This program of "scientific" socialism had another great future; it embarked on the road of passive resistance. It strived to bring in socialism by legal and peaceful methods. And that really appealed to the large masses. We remember, of course, how the social-democrats succeeded in sending their representatives to the various parliaments. In the German Reichstag, under Wilhelm's regime, the social-democratic party had one hundred and eleven deputies.

What was the outcome of all this? Instead of "capturing" the capitalist state and its governing apparatus, the socialist representatives turned to be fitting cogs in the same governmental apparatus. It paved the way for a whole galaxy of betrayers: Millerand, Viviani, Aristide Briand, MacDonald and others.

Came the World War. The Second Socialist International completely fell apart. The parties which held to the principle of parliamentary socialism rallied to the defense of the honor of their respective national governments. Instead, in place of the slogan: "Proletarians of All Countries Unite" has risen a new slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, bleed one another to death." On the battlefields of Europe there were scattered bloody remnants of the Second International.

The Bolsheviki-Leninists have tried to explain that we cannot transform the capitalist state into a socialist one by peaceful methods. The Bolsheviki (later communists) agreed that we must destroy the capitalist state by the use of force and build in its stead a proletarian dictatorship which will bring socialism to a realization. When the Russian government's apparatus decayed and was shaken to its roots during the War, the then ruling might—as Lenin expressed it—"lay in the streets." The Bolsheviki-Leninists then politely lifted this "Might," breathed into it a new soul. In Russia then was born a proletarian state or, as some refer to it, a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Well, twenty-two years have elapsed since the birth of the Proletarian dictatorship in Russia. We now have there an absolute government, from which naturally and inevitably evolved a new ruling and privileged class, a new social and economic inequality as found in Stalinism. Are we not fully justified in declaring that Stalinism is nothing more than a direct and natural inheritance of the revolutionary Marxism-Leninism? Is it logical and just for the Marxian opponents of Stalin to attack Stalin? They are in reality, his own brothers. The responsibility for all that is known as Stalinism rests upon all those who cling to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Books and Pamphlets Received

Czecho-Slovakia, Germany and the League of Nations, by E. Michaels. Five pages. One penny. 163 Jubilee Street, Mile End, E. I., London, England.

Die Russiche Revolution, by Rosa Luxemburg, 64 pages, 25 cents. Editions Jean Flory, 140 Boulevard Saint Germain, France.

Echoes (Spring-1939) Edited by Stanley Johnson. 28 pages, large format. 25 cents. Popular Poetry Publishers, Station A. Boston, Mass.

Popular Poetry (Fall-1938). 38 pages. Same editor and publishers of Echoes.

History of "400" (A. W. O.—The One Big Union Idea in Action) by E. Workman. 28 pages, paper cover 10 c. One Big Union Club, 137 E. 13th St., New York, N. Y.

La Corporation (de la Rome Ancienne a la Rome Mussolinienne) par A. Frank. 31 pages. Paper cover. 1 franc. Les Cahiers de Terre Libre," 10, r. Emile Jamais, Nimes, France.

Ou Va L'Espagne? par A. Prudhommeaux. 48 pages. Paper cover. 2 Francs. Same publishers as the previously listed pamphlet.

Militant Anarchism and the Reality in Spain, by Federica Montseny, 14 pages. The Anarchist Communist Federation, 287 Netherton Road, Knightwood, Glasgow, W. 3, Scotland.

Three Years of Struggle in Spain. (A statement by the C. N. T., F. A. I, and Youth Organizations) 12 pages, Five cents. Freedom Press Distributors, 21 Frith Street, London, W. I., England.

Trotsky Protests Too Much, by Emma Goldman. 15 pages. 5 cents. Same publishers.

Under the Fifth Rib, by H. T. Derret. 23 pages. 5 cents. Same publishers.

Sunrise in Evening, by John B. Michel. Mimeographed pamphlet of Poems. Illustrated by Leslie Peri. 280 St. John's Place. Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Supreme Task of International Pacifism, by Pierre Ramus. 14-page pamphlet. Two Pence. J. Humprey, 2 Malden Crescent, Chalk Farm, London, N. W. I., England.

Manifesto In Behalf Of Cultural Freedom

The Manifesto which we print in full on this page was issued by a distinguished committee which truly represents cultural America. Its call to battle against every form of totalitarianism and in behalf of the preservation of liberty is indeed encouraging. It is a noble piece of work especially since we are witnessing the steady rise of the monstruous debaucher of human culture—fascism.

Those who are acquainted with the anarchist's attitude towards culture and, in fact, towards every phase of human life will find substantial value in the manifesto that follows.

Incidentally, the "New Republic" refused to print the manifesto. The "Nation" printed it with an editorial dissent. The "New York Post" printed it with editorial approval. The "Socialist Call" featured the whole document.

* * *

The Manifesto

The tide of totalitarianism is rising throughout the world. It is washing away cultural and creative freedom along with all other expressions of independent human reason. Never before in modern times has the integrity of the writer, the artist, the scientist, and the scholar been threatened so seriously. The existence of this danger and the urgent need for common defensive action inspire the undersigned in issuing this statement.

Under varying labels and colors, but with an unvarying hatred for the free mind, the totalitarian idea is already enthroned in Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, and Spain. There intellectual and creative independence is suppressed and punished as a form of treason. Art, science, and education have been forcibly turned into lackeys for a supreme state, a deified leader, and an official pseudo-philosophy.

The Nazis have proclaimed: "There can no longer be a single artist who creates otherwise than nationally and with a national purpose. Every artist who withdraws from this preoccupation must be hunted as an enemy of the nation until he gives up his intolerable resistance."

The words and acts of all other totalitarian regimes conform to this view. They apply it to the educator, the scientist, and the historian no less than to the artist. The results have been artistic sterility, an enslaved intellectual life, a tragic caricature of culture. Literally thousands of German, Italian, Russian and other victims of cultural dictatorship have been silenced, imprisoned, tortured, or hounded into exile.

Triumphant in a large sector of the civilized world, the totalitarian idea is winning too dangerous an influence in many other countries. It threatens to overwhelm nations where the democratic way of life, with its cultural liberty is still dominant. Even in the United States its beginnings are all too evident in the emergence of local political dictators, the violation of civil rights, the alarming spread of phobias, of hatred directed against racial, religious and political minorities. Ominous shadows of war are gathering in our own land. Behind them lurk dangers not only to a free labor movement but to a free culture.

Through subsidized propaganda, through energetic agents, through political pressure, the totalitarian states succeed in infecting other countries with their false doctrines, in intimidating independent artists and scholars, and in spreading panic among intellectuals. Already many of those who would be crippled or destroyed by totalitarianism are themselves yielding to panic. In fear or despair they hasten to exalt one brand of intellectual servitude over another; to make fine distinctions between various methods of humilliating the human spirit and outlawing intellectual integrity. Many of them have already declared a moratorium on reason and creative freedom. Instead of resisting and denouncing all attempts to strait-jacket the human mind they glorify, under deceptive slogans and names, the color or the cut of one strait-jacket rather than another.

These are immediate and pervasive realities. Unless totalitarianism is combated wherever and in whatever form it manifests itself, it will spread in America. We, as writers, artists and scholars, are deeply conscious of our responsibilities to our vocations. The circumstance that free culture, persecuted and proscribed in vast areas of Europe and Asia, seeks refuge in America raises these responsibilities to the plane of pressing moral duty.

We therefore call for the formation of a Committee for Cultural Freedom, an organization independent of control, whether open or secret, by any political group, pledged to expose repression of intellectual freedom under whatever pretext, to defend individuals and groups victimized by totalitarian practices anywhere, to propagate courageously the ideal of untrammeled intellectual activity. This commits us as a group to no particular social philosophy—but only to one of the fundamental criteria for evaluating all social philosophies today; namely, whether it permits the thinker and the artist to function independently of political, religious or racial dogmas. We have come together and call upon others to join us, on the basis of the least common denominator of a civilized culture—the inviolability of creative and intellectual freedom.

Louis Adamic, Van Meter Ames, Sherwood Anderson, Robert O. Ballou, Ernest Sutherland Bates, W. H. Baumgardner, Arthur F. Bentley, David Bernstein, George Boas, Boyd H. Bode, S. L. Boothroyd, P. W. Bridgman, Paul F. Brissenden, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Robert C. Brooks, Edmund De S. Brunner, E. A. Burtt, Witter Bynner, V. F. Calverton, W. D. Cannon, Rudolf Carnap, John Chamberlain, John L. Childs, L. S. Cottrell, George S. Counts, Philip W. L. Cox, Countee Cullen, Merle Curti, Walter Damrosch, Elmer Davis, Ned H. Dearborn, Babette Deutsch, John Dewey, Arnold Dresden, Max Eastman, Irwin Edman, Edwin R. Embree, Abraham Epstein, Morris L. Ernst, Edna Ferber, Herbert F. Fraser, Abram Harris, Herbert E. Harris, George W. Hartmann, Henry Hazlitt, Milton P. Herrmann, Philip M. Hicks, Jesse H. Holmes, John Haynes Holmes, Sidney Hook, B. W. Huebsch, Inez Haynes Irwin, James W. Ivy, Horace M. Kallen, William H. Kilpatrick, Suzanne La Follette, George W. Lee, Arthur O. Lovejoy, Robert H. Lowie, Ferdinand Lundberg, Eugene Lyons, Benjamin C. Marsh, Milton S. Mayer, Nelson P. Mead, Ernest L. Meyer, Wesley C. Mitchell, Marston Morse, Philip E. Mosely, David S. Muzzey, Henry Neumann, Jesse H. Newlon, H. A. Overstreet, Walter Pach, Saul K. Padover, John Dos Passos, Frederick L. Redefer, Victor Riesel, James Rorty, Leonard Q. Ross, Morrie Ryskind, J. Salwin Schapiro, Willi Schlamm, George S. Schuyler, John Sloan, Joseph Hilton Smyth, Clara G. Stillman, Benjamin Stolberg, V. T. Thayer, Norman Thomas, Dorothy Thompson, Frank N. Trager, Howard M. Trueblood, Frederick F. Van De Water, M. R. Werner, William Carlos Williams, Helen Woodward.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ammon A. Hennacy

"ALCOHOL—ONE MAN'S MEAT" by Edward A. Strecker and Francis L. Chamber Jr. The MacMillan Co., New York, 1938.

There are two extremes of thought in dealing with many of the toughest problems which have been a source of trouble from the time of recorded history. The abuse of alcohol, or drunkness, is one of these important problems.

One extreme, the Prohibitionists and the Communists, holds that the part of human nature which sucumbs to drunkness will be changed, either by a prohibition law, or by government ownership of private industry, which supposedly will "make saints out of sinners by filling their stomachs," the futility of which was shown by Voltairine de Cleyre years ago. The other extreme is represented by the revivalist of the Billy Sunday type on the one hand, and by those on the other who hope by the punishment of institution life and the Keele or other "cures" to frighten or coerce the drunkard into a life of sobriety.

It is therefore of great importance that a book such as the above has been written to follow up that classic dealing with the same subject, "The Commonsense of Drinking" by Richard Peabody. The approach of both these books is neither sentimental or coercive.

The reason why the Anarchist, whose basis in philosophy is freedom and individual responsibility rather than dependence upon emotion, law, the State, or centralized and coercive action to solve problems, should be especially interested in this book can therefore clearly be seen. The radical whose efforts to build up a movement have been thwarted by the comrade whose slavery to drink has led him to dishonesty, inefficiency, and sometimes to downright treachery, cannot help but be interested in this study of alcohol. It is impossible in the short space of a review to give more than a few high spots in the book.

Excellent illustrations show the uselessness of hospitals, sanitariums, prohibition, and allied methods of fear used in seeking to cure drunkness. The psychological fact that the slave of alcohol seeks more alcohol to drown the argument that he has arrived at his low state and may yet descend to lower dephts of misery and suffering is forgotten by most people trying to reform the drunkard through lawmaking and preaching.

The title of this book might well have been "Alibiing Throughout Life," for that is the true history of the alcoholic. This evasion is caused through the fear of tyrannical parents, teachers and preachers in the life of the child, or in the same basis of fear which is shown by well-meaning kindness of over-protection of the child from the difficulties of life. The youth and the adult dislike to admit the truth and to face the reality of life. Thus the alibi, which of course is soon discovered. To hide this discovery and defeat forgetfulness in liquor is the remedy sought. Deeper and deeper this life of evasion progresses, for more liquor is needed for more forgetfulness.

The treatment of the psychologist must begin by the voluntary action of the patient. Untruthfulness in presenting the life history automatically cancels further treatment. There are certain types such as morons and what is designated by the psychologist as the "Constitutional Psychopathic Inferior" with whom it is useless to waste time, for they are too dumb to understand what it is all about or too dishonest to care for anything beyond one more drink. The authors do not suggest any treatment for these classes. It would seem that under our present system of society there must continue to be this large group who will be too drunk to enter the army, too inebriated to engineer a crime which will give them much more than ninety days in a workhouse, and too "shaky" to do a good day's work. If any of our governmental authorities cared to handle this problem they could segregate this group in the "wide, open spaces," give them work, plenty to eat, justice and self-government rather than political administration. A great number would not wish to return to the run-around of the old inebriated life. Those who wished to return could do so. This is just a suggestion of the reviewer.

The authors sum up the problem: **"Emotional immaturity as the seed, introversion as the soil, and the psychoneurosis, alcoholism as the growth that is produced."** The mature adult cannot use alcohol in order to make reality more enjoyable without disastrous effects. The true alcoholic drinks for the opposite reason—to escape reality. Just when one graduates from the first group to the second is determined by several tests, such as secret or solitary drinking and the necessity of the "eye-opener" the first thing in the morning.

The treatment described in detail in the book consists of hourly interviews for about one hundred hours during a year in which the patient retraces the causes of his emotional immaturity and seeks to face the realities of life. The authors point out that alcoholism is not the only method by which people seek to rationalize their behavior and substitute an excuse for the truth. In fact most of our daily lives are based on evasion and statesmanship and diplomacy are based on that vice.

There is no such thing as being "on the wagon" for any definite time in the treatment prescribed. Liquor must be given up forever: **"He must be absolutely sincere in his desire to learn how to stop drinking once and for all, regardless of his opinion of his ability to do so."** It is not only the negative action of refusing to drink but the possitive of replacing bad habits with good ones and of viewing a life where problems are actually faced, overcome, and a mental and spiritual growth takes the place of drunken mediocrity.

To the Anarchist the whole book is a proof of the truth of the emphasis placed by Ferrer, Ferm and other Libertarian educators who have placed freedom in education rather than the coercive regimentation which we have today, as necessary to normal growth in the child With freedom as a basis in education introversion and its result, alcoholism, would be great ly diminished. As long, however, as we have a society ruled by the State, which is based upon the policeman's club, and by the Church—which if it is a Church and not a mere social group—is based upon the fear of hell, it is to be expected that drunkness will be a part of everyday life. And this is true of any State, Democratic, Communistic, Socialistic or Fascist; and of any Church which recognizes the State, and preaches a gospel of fear rather than of love.

* * *

PROSPERITY AND SECURITY, by Ralph Borsodi. Harper and Bros. New York City, 1938. Price $3.00.

The author of **This Ugly Civilization** and **the Flight From the City** has again ably presented his main thesis of decentralization and non-governmental society based upon a family and household economy rather than any proposed paternalistic scheme.

In this day of super-nationalistic hysteria Borsodi brings the other extreme of **"individual, family, and cooperative activity rather than a national process; that the true units of economic phenomena are not the social economies of the political entities called nations, but the economic transactions, projects and enterprises of actual human beings."**

Inasmuch as our nationalistic, capitalistic, centralized, industrial society has resulted in a maximum of insecurity for both rich and poor and in a lack of definite prosperity the title of this book is well selected. The author shows that what is saved by large scale production is lost through overhead expenses, advertising, and exportation and importation of raw materials and finished product to and from factory. All this is conserved on the homestead or corporative where nearly everything needed is grown or made on the place.

A comparison of the Catholic, Marxian, and scientific attitudes toward charity and relief is very well given. One of the most interesting descriptions in the book is the illustration of the details by which the lambs in Wall Street are fleeced and the similar method used by politicians.

Of special interest to readers of MAN! is the definition of Politics given by a Tammany Hall politician as: **"Addition, division, and silence."** Borsodi's description of the law presents a viewpoint appreciated by all libertarians: **"The truth is that law is the exact opposite of what we have been taught with regard to it. It is not permanent, it is not uniform, and it is not universal."** The criticism which he gives toward anarchistic society, although he does not name it as such, is all the more sincere, and in fact is about the only real argument presented against that ideal: **"The utopians ignore the lessons of history; they ignore the patent and obvious evidence as to the capabilities of the great majority of individuals—their limitations both as to character and ability. All that the utopians have ever been able to do with their revolutions is to rename the factors involved and to reshuffle the individuals who play the various roles in the old and time-hallowed process of exploitation."**

Obviously the only answer to this criticism is to throw back—not to Borsodi who goes with us in fundamental principles most of the way—but to those apologists of capitalism, communism and fascism, the idea that just to the extent that the state usurps the control of the life of the individual, to that extent does the individual become more helpless, more insecure, and more incapable in character and ability—in fact becomes much worse. Anarchism is not utopian; its method of freedom and free association, unhampered by state or church, is more **practical** than any other method and can be practiced by individuals and groups today. While we do not pretend to make over the misfits of totalitarian and church ridden society in a generation, we do hold aloft that torch of **liberty** which will enable mankind to grow toward the light. The only way in which we will ever have a better society where there will be lasting prosperity and security is when individuals are able to rely upon their own efforts in cooperation with their fellows and cease quarreling with politicians for a handout—and following them in wars to a deadly knockout.

Those readers of MAN! who have not read this book or the other two previously mentioned by the same author, have missed three books which will supplement Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops" and Edward Carpenter's "Civilization, Its Cause and Cure."

The action of the good God and of all the divine idealities on earth has ended... always and everywhere, in founding the prosperous materialism of the few over the fanatical and constantly famishing idealism of the masses.

—Mikhail BAKUNIN

Why Did Anthony's Speech Appeal to the Common People?

This is really a complex question to answer. We can also ask, "Why do the speeches of Hitler, of Mussolini, and of Stalin appeal to the common people?" Then we must ask, what do we mean by the term "Common People"?

By "Common People" we mean the masses—the proletariat. As an individual, a man is an ordinary John Doe, who works hard for a living. He and his kind make up society. They pay the taxes, run industry, and fight in wars. He and his class (the proletariat) are the backbone of the community and the nation. In their hands lies power—for they are the workers. Without them factories and shops would not be able to operate; wars could not be fought, and the majority of tax-payers would not exist.

It would seem that considering their role, the masses would be powerful. But they are not, simply for this reason: they are not educated to appreciate and understand the ideal of individualistic thinking. "Ha!" the Marxist will remark, "you want workers to become rugged individualists and lose their power as a class." That is not what I mean. I do not advocate rugged individualism, or dog-eat-dog idea of life. I abhor such a philosophy.

This is what I mean: man must elevate himself so that he can really stand out as an individual and think as one. In other words, he must be an individual thinker. The intellect must be the master. Of course, he should not isolate himself from society. For, after all, man is a social animal. However, he must be an individualist; not a bit of hot flesh in a mob.

I agree with the Anarchist theory that man is the measurement of everything. He must stand out as a human being possessing a mind and a will of his own. Being a human being, he must fight to better his social conditions; but in this fight he should not become a stooge for an ambitious Lenin, or a clog in a political machine. It is the duty of society to educate the masses, and to establish healthy social conditions, for people are only mirrors of their environment.

The uneducated masses, like wild animals must have an idol. Therefore, it is easy for a clever demagogue to win their affections by appearing as a mighty conqueror and leader. The childish mob will follow a Pompey, a Caesar, a Anthony, a Hitler, a Mussolini, a Stalin, a Hague; but they will destroy their former idol if a new demagogue wins their affections by appearing as a still greater fuehrer.

Now, Brutus and his friends feared Julius Caesar because they realized that Caesar wanted POWER. These men were conservatives who were devoted to the ideal of the Roman Republic. We must remember that the struggle between the Republicans and the followers of Caesar was not one between reaction and progress; but simply a fight between Republicans and Monarchists. The Roman Republic was far from being a liberal one it was ruled by nobles. Witness how they crushed the champions of the Plebians, the Gracchi. Brutus and his allies feared giving power to an anti-Republican like Caesar.

Brutus was a strange combination of conservative and liberal. We know that he was a liberal, for he allowed Anthony his enemy, to deliver Caesar's funeral oration. Was it because he trusted Anthony? Or did he have faith in the people to whom he spoke in his famous speech in the forum?

In his talk, Brutus appealed to reason; to the intellect. He showed that liberty was greater than Caesar's glory—that people couldn't have both. That is why he slew the dictator Caesar.

Now we come to the arch demagogue, Marc Anthony. In his clever speech, Anthony pointed to the imperialistic exploits of Caesar—as if that reaised the level of the people! He appealed to emotion—on which the mob lives.

*———

Dear Mr. Graham:

A few weeks ago my English instructor had his pupils wrote an essay on the topic "Why did Anthony's speech appeal to the common people?" After writing my essay I thought that it would be a good idea to send it to MAN!, in order to show your readers the kind of reasoning a free-thinking young American has. It seems to me that a matured publication such as MAN! should print articles by young thinkers.

I am 17 years old and am a student of the Bayonne Evening High School.

Comradely yours,

Morton Perry

Why do I call the common people of Rome a mob? Because they did not think as individuals, but as a group. They did not sit down and analyze the situation and the statements made by he speakers. Brutus catered to their intellect: he failed. Anthony catered to their emotions; he succeeded.

Did the people love Caesar the man? They did not even think of Caesar as a man! To them he was an idol; a leader; a conqueror. The mob cannot understand ideals; but they rejoiced in the military exploits of Caesar, for it appealed to their childish and animal minds.

Anthony realized all this. That is why he emphasized Caesar's exploits in his speech. The mob forgot the cold reasoning of democratic Brutus but thought of glorious battles, captives of war, and military splendour.

Morton PERRY

ART AND LITERATURE

A PORTRAIT

The shy little girl had big brown eyes and straight brown hair, and she wondered about this, and other things, for the little girls in her Land of Make Believe, patterned after the books she read, always had curly hair; and, wondering, the little girl became more shy.

Many things the little girl could not understand. There were, for instance, such minor misunderstandings as the blue hair-ribbon. And the blue dress. Loving all nature with the whole of her little soul, the little girl was particularly happy among the bright and multi-colored flowers in the big garden. The earth was so brown, the grass so green, the flowers so gay. And the little girl seemed not so shy whenever her mother would fill the big brown jug in the stairway nook with bright blue corn-flowers and beautiful golden flowers whose name the little girl could not pronounce. A golden glow would shine in the eyes of the shy, brown little girl, and in an instinctive, child-like way, she knew that she would be as beautiful to look upon as the blue and gold flowers in their brown jug if only she could have a blue dress and a blue hair-ribbon.

These the mother steadfastly refused the little girl. "They would make you look **dark**," she would explain meaningly. The little girl and her mother lived in a near-Southern town where for some unexplained (to the little girl) reason, it was something very bad to be considered **dark**. The little girl's mother had yellow hair and blue eyes, and she was very proud of them.

But the unfulfilled longing for a blue dress and matching hair-ribbon was but a passing fantasy of tragedy to the little girl. Other problems soon presented themselves; problems over which the little girl pondered again and again; problems so vital and deep and hidden that they rooted themselves into the heart of the little girl, there to remain until long after she was no longer a little girl. They were the things that she just could not understand.

The Land of Make-Believe in which the little girl lived most of the time was a land of perfect harmony and complete happiness. The land was always beautiful, its days continually bright. And the people in it were all happy together. Even the people of that other life, when placed in that Land of Make-Believe by an imaginative juxtaposition, were never cross with each other. Joyous existence in this land of dreams gave rise to grave questionings as to why more, if not all people, did not travel into this land of the care-free, there to make their home. In the impersonality of the very young, the little girl never once wondered why she herself did not always live there.

The little girl felt sure that everybody knew of this magnificent land of fulfilled desires, for she had often heard her mother and friends discussing the "double standard" of life. Could this mean anything other than that there were two worlds to live in, choice determining? Once the little girl decided that this double standard of life applied to rules governing youth and age; she noticed that milk and spinach and carrots and prunes and porridge were considered proper food for a child, while the food for grown-ups consisted of many delicacies dear to the heart of a child who had but seldom tasted them.

But so many and varied were the evidences of the duality of life which the little girl encountered that single evidences of it soon became woven into the whole cloth, warp and woof. Two great and terrible threads remained throughout the garment of her life; both had to do with that greatest of instincts, religion.

The little girl began her religious evolution even as the childhood of the earth had begun. The little girl was very straight and brown and quiet on the outside; inside she was a gay and shinning pagan. She knew that she was a pagan, for one of the big pictures that hung in the library was entitled "The Pagan" and showed a figure dancing **en naturelle** among the trees. The little girl often brought a picture-book to the big chair opposite "The Pagan", but it was not the book that she studied so long and intently.

After these periods before the picture, the little girl started lingering in her bath. And one day she walked out of the bath, and through the house into the garden; and there she danced as free and unrestrained among the flowers as many another pagan had danced in days gone by. Shocked neighbors called her mother, who immediately escorted her into the house, and to a form of punishment that could only have been conceived in the mind of a jealous woman.

Later in the day when the little girl danced nude on the lawn, —an incongruous sight for a pagan, with her neatly combed braids of straight hair flying behind her, she needed the sympathy and loving-kindness of a mother, and never has a little, little girl needed it more. The hardest thing in the life of the little girl was the cruelty and studied indifference of her mother. The father of the little girl lay in a darkened room upstairs, and the little girl and her mother vied with each other in bringing loveliness and light to him. The child, so grave and quiet and dark like the father, became his guiding light, his greatest joy. Were they not cast in the same mold, of a sameness which is oneness? To the mother she became a rival for the favor of her man, and with the instinctive fear of one female for another, all the more poignant and fierce because it was unconscious, the mother's feelings became very cruel toward the little girl.

So the little girl could not hide in a mother's protecting arms when she came running into the house late that afternoon. The little girl had gone next door to visit with the neighbors' boys, to try to forget the things her mother had said and done to her because she had practiced devotedly and sincerely her religion of paganism, of beauty in its natural form. The mother had taken the boys to the country for the day, so the little girl stayed to talk to the fat, pudgy old doctor, the boy's father, who, she soon discovered, had already heard about her dancing in the garden.

"So you have been playing in the yard with no clothes on," teased the doctor. "Come and sit on my lap, and I will show you some pictures in this book."

Obediently the little girl obeyed. The doctor held her a little too close to him, but she didn't mind so much, for she liked to look at big picture-books, and she awaited this pleasure expectantly. Slowly the doctor opened the book as though a too great eagerness hindered him. "Perhaps the doctor likes to look at pictures, too," mused the little girl to herself. "Now, he said over and over again, as he held her closer, and pinched her little thin knees. Somehow the pictures didn't look like "The Pagan." The people were not dancing, nor was there any back-ground of trees and grass and flowers. Why, they weren't beautiful at all!

Then all of a sudden the little girl freed herself, and ran home, screaming in terror at a great and terrible fear which she could not name. She ran straight to the darkened room upstairs. Never before had she taken anything unpleasant into that room, but it was the one safe refuge that the little girl knew, and this nameless thing had so terrorized her that she did not stop to consider her actions altogether. After all, she was only a very little girl, and she only wanted to ask her father why the body was not always beautiful.

But she never entered her father's room again, for at the door stood a stranger, all starched and white, who said bluntly, withal kindly, "You cannot come in here child. Your father has gone away to a place where he will never be sick again."

It was at this time that organized orthodox religion entered the life of the little girl. She suddenly surprised her mother by asking to be sent to Sunday School. Once when she was very, very small a beloved pet had died, and her father had comforted her by telling her that someday when she was a bigger girl she would learn and understand that Tige had only gone away to a beautiful land. Upon asking who would tell her about this strange land where Tige, who had never been happy away from her, would be happy without her, her father had answered sadly, "The Sunday School Teacher, perhaps."

So now the little girl wanted to go to Sunday School. She had some questions to ask of the Sunday School teacher. And asking them, she became content for the day. The Resurrection was very real to her. She who had been a sincere pagan, had now become a devout fundamentalist, literally speaking.

On the third day after her father was taken away, the little girl was up very early in the morning, making her way quietly to the garden. Surely Father would come to the garden they both loved so well, even as that Other One had awakened in the Garden so long ago. And maybe he would bring Tige with him. Evidently Tige had been too small to come alone. So all day the little girl sat in the garden. The mother did not notice or cared that the little girl sat through meal times, so quite and white.

At dusk a dejected brown figure crept into the house, and to bed. Disbelieving, the little girl had come to understand; and understanding, to cast aside much that had been precious, including young youth. For the little girl was no longer a little girl.

Marie HARLOWE

Conjugal Rights

Then it was that wife-hood irked you—
Twins of misery always present,
Poverty and pregnancy;
Was this all that life could offer—
Passion in dire poverty,
Breeding, eating, sleeping yearly,
Never changing, never ending?
What of the soul, no longer dormant,
Craving beauty, hungering, craving love,
Companionship of spirit—more than mating endlessly?
What of the subterranean self emerging,
Emerging from forced maternity
Unloving and unrelieved depths?
The rhythm of the cow,
The rhythm of the sow!

Bonds of wedlock?—Bonds of hatred!—
Binding, binding, welding into human flesh
The loathing of outraged womanhood,
The loathing of outraged motherhood,
Breeding, breeding for what—
More misery, more hunger, more poverty?
And the chains tighten, cut deeper with each birth
And the soul starves, writhes and dies
And the spirit no longer upward flies
But the body lives to breed more;
So now the body is whore
Submitting unloved and hating,
Only the body mating;
Spawning weeds
The heart bleeds.

Lucia Morse RIMBACH

Picture of Sixteen

(for Bruce Kapustka)

The kid was sixteen
three years on the road
(yeh, he had a home
if you wanted to make him laugh)

He had ridden rods thru fourteen states
seen men who weren't men anymore
seen land that was wasting
that'd take the wind on Friday
hover over Texas on Sunday
and God knows where from there on
seen a kid with croup
cough blood out of his lungs
that showed grime
from three factories and a coal mine
seen girls who had sold their virtue
for a fifteen cent meal
rotting away with syphilis
and praying that they'd die
before they had to eat again

He saw a pillar of society
break a kid's head
with a silver cane
because the kid was hungry enough
to eat out of a garbage can
that'd been sprinkled with kerosene

The kid learned fast
he had come a long way

He was sixteen
three years on the road
(yeh, he had a home
if you wanted to make him laugh).

J. C. CREWS

The Cosmopolitan

I will not be a narrow patriot;
With Paine I say, "My country is the world,"
And I am not
The fettered slave of my poor flag, unfurled,
All other flags to scorn;
All men are brothers born;
Their flags
Are only bits of colored rags,
Mere trademarks, like tobacco tags.
I will not bow and scrape to puppet kings,
Or, while the mob its doggerel tribute sings
Unto their glory, mumble tory words that mean
Willing submission to a monarch's spleen.
Nor do I joy when jazzing clamor rings,
Of wartime mockeries and hollow strife;
War, real or pictured, claims sure toll of life—
Glad, joyous Life!
I'll pay devotion to a god of jade;
I'll kneel where black or white or brown has prayed
To spirits strange or idols bright arrayed;
I'll play at children's games much as you will,
And call it harmless exercise, but still,
I'll want a pinch of salt to season it,
Just when you really start to reason it.
The man-made trumpery of laws and things,
Framed up by old fools while the strong young toiled,
Divide the world too much with class and creed;
For picturesque effect each race I need
Some dot on garlic, others cabbage boiled
And frankfurters; some are cannibals,
Their flags and kingdoms are but shallow symbols;
More interest how their females paint their jowls;
Or wind their hair up; their farm stock and fowls;
Their fields, their cottages and garden gates,
Or, how they choose their wedded mates.
You ask too much that I should care,
Who does, or not, pay Caesar's share;
Or, who should die for king and flag.
The state is but a vaunted hag;
Fools think her virtuous and kiss her shoes;
They do not know her virtue is a ruse—
That men have bought her, sold her, times uncounted,
Till now her value is a bit discounted.
Yet, mine own land, I love, and people, comrades
of her farms and fields;
Her prairies broad that golden fruitage yields;
Her shops and mills, and thoughtful, happy homes;
Her lakes and rivers—Nature's living poems;
I've caught her spirit, you may make her laws
And governments, fools their vain applause;
The same with other lands and men; I seek their
souls;
You doll their bodies up in slavish roles
That make them pawns upon a board of fate
Playing and paying for a Whimful State.
No! I will not
Be, or be called a patriot.

Verne DeWitt ROWELL

CASES OF CRIME

Marcus Graham

Crime has come to be associated ever so often with poverty that one seldom thinks of it also as a detrimental factor affecting even the well-to-do "citizenship." As a matter of fact crime flourishes to a far greater extent amidst the "safe" and "secure" class than many of us are led to believe. An analysis of some recently revealed crimes in which men and women of prominence and official standing have figured may enable us to realize the extent to which the present capitalist system serves as a breeder of crime not only with the have-nots alone, but with the rich as well.

The outstanding case is that of Judge Manton who, as U. S. Federal Judge of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals of New York, held a judicial position second only to the Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. The resignation of Judge Manton was the result of an investigation showing that he had received about $400,000 in the form of loans from litigants who came before his court. This was followed by a trial resulting in his conviction to imprisonment and to a fine.

Another case in this line-up was that of the wife of Superior Court Justice Loury of New York City. She was accused and sentenced to a heavy fine for having cheated the American government of taxes due on jewelry which she and others had smuggled into this country. Others who were also connected with this smuggling charge and who were also tried and fined as accomplices of Mrs. Loury are the famous George Burns (of the Burns and Allen team) and the comedian Jack Benny.

The most important of the cases which we have in mind is that of Philip Musica, better known as Frank Donald Coster. Musica, the son of an Italian immigrant, was a little known cheese importer. In 1909 he was convicted of having bribed custom weighers to mark down the weight of the cheese he took in. After serving a term of one year, Musica was determined to really "succeed in business." And succeed he did. He was the founder of the U. S. Hair Company. Again he was found guilty of some crime and sentenced to jail. Upon release, Musica was the same determined man who wanted to "succeed." He became a stool pigeon for the U. S. District Attorney of New York City. Later as F. Donald Coster, he became owner of the great McKesson and Robins Drug firm. He also bought for himself an M. D. degree from Heidelberg. He was listed in the Who's Who of America, and he became a member of the four hundred. Yes, Philip Musica had become successful! In his climb to success, however, Musica learned that success depended on carrying on unfair crooked deals. So, he went on and played the game of double-dealings and crooked manipulations of funds. Last year, a huge sum of money from the firm of McKesson and Robins was missing. During the investigation, it was found that the owner, F. Donald Coster, was no other than the criminal Philip Musica. His sensational success came to an end when he committed suicide before the law was able to get him.

* * *

What relationship is there between these four cases mentioned? What did each of these people have in common?

In all appearances, it seems that none of these people committed the crime for privation. None of them was hungry, scantily clothed or without shelter. Each was economically secure, and each was a "respectable" citizen of the country.

Does this prove that they were criminals at heart in spite of their security and positions? Not at all. Rather, these cases prove that money and the ability to acquire it, through dishonesty, is the measurement by which one's place in society is determined. The accumulation of money is the result of dishonesty—even in the case of those who were supposed to administer justice and interpret the laws of the land. Money is not accumulated by those who slave and sweat for their bread. The rules of the game of money accumulation are: lying and cheating, being unscrupulous, taking advantage of your fellowmen. These are also de basic unwritten laws of the present system of disorder and chaos. These rules were fully and carefully followed in the cases we have cited. The only loophole is that the people involved were "discovered"—by accident or otherwise.

How many more cases would be "discovered" if the veil which covers them would be removed! And if one would really stop to consider what the real reason for committing crimes is, how much could be learned and how clearly the whole system of corruption would be exposed!

The people with whom we have dealt above and who have been stamped as criminals were led to the criminal path because of the desire for more and more wealth, because of the unjust monetary system itself. Those are the fruits of the society in which we live. And a society as unjust and insane as the present will always bear the poisonous fruits of chaos, disorder, inequality, greed, and corruption. No one will be safe from the temptation of the poisonous fruit unless the roots which bear them are eradicated.

The monetary means of measuring one's success and well-being, one's security and happiness, will have to give way to a system of real equality, a system wherein the right to share and enjoy all the bounties and riches of nature will be for all.

As we think of the light sentences imposed upon these rich offenders, we cannot help but think of the millions of men and women, and children too, who fill our prisons and penal institutions. All that these poor unfortunates asked and hoped for was the right to live, the right to be happy. The only road open to them, in their estimation, was the criminal road. In pursuing that path, they expected to achieve the success and happiness for which they had hoped. Instead, they were met with disgrace, punishment and untold suffering. All this suffering and punishment fill the black pages of the history of mankind, a history which can be reshaped and remolded according to men's needs and desires by man alone.

More Light On Spain

(Continued from Page Four)

". . . To this day, Barcelona May Days appear in the history of our times as a fratricidal war among the anti-Fascists while Franco was attacking them . . .

"The fact is that the Barcelona outbreak was a conspiracy successfully carried off by the Ogpu. The fighting began with a raid led by Ogpu agents on the Telephone Exchange. Five days of bloodshed followed; five hundred persons were killed and more than one thousand wounded. By this operation, the Ogpu made Catalonia the issue on which Caballero's government must stand or fall.

"At this time, in the summer of 1937, just when Stalin appeared to have achieved his goal in far away Spain, Japan struck at China . . . .

"Simultaneously the Fascist powers became more and more aggressive in the West. Italy and Germany intervened openly on Franco's side. The military situation of the Spanish republic grew increasingly difficult. If Stalin were to capitalize on his achievements in Spain, he would have to give it the full measure of help needed to defeat Franco and his allies. More than ever, he did not want to risk a major war. His slogan from the beginning of that adventure had been: 'Stay out of the range of artillery fire!' This slogan became more imperative after Japan's invasion of China and its threats on the Siberian frontier.

"The role of Stalin in Spain was now going to eclipse. Stalin had intervened there in the hope that he would, with the assitance of a vassal Spanish regime, build a bridge from Moscow to London and Paris. His maneuver failed. Leon Blum and Anthony Eden resigned. Paris and London adopted a more friendly attitude toward Franco. Gradually, during 1938, Stalin withdrew from the Spanish ring of action. All that he got out of his adventure was the Spanish gold. He had not succeeded in his main objective of steering the Soviet ship of state out of its isolation among the great powers of the world."

—SATURDAY EVENING POST, April 15, 1939.

* * *

Louis Araquistain Accuses . . .

"But really, the Soviet war material was never sufficient. Why? This is an enigma that only the future historians will be able, perhaps, to clarify . . . . It can only be interpreted in conjectures? . . . One hypothesis, if correct, would confirm the suspicion that some of us Spaniards had as early as 1937, that Joseph Stalin did not want us to win the war because that would have exasperated Chancellor Hitler—otherwise his help would have been more copious and efficient. Nor did he want us to lose it too soon, because, once the Spanish conflict was liquidated, Herr Hitler would have greater freedom of action to carry out his policy of aggression in Eastern Europe and even against the Soviet Union itself. Mr. Stalin simply wanted to prolong our war sine die, to keep Premier Mussolini and Hitler busy and force the latter, in the end, to come to an understanding with the U. S. S. R. In the Spanish war he only saw a strategic diversion."

—NEW YORK TIMES, May 21, 1939.

Where Religion begins Science dies.

—GOETHE

An Affair for "Man!"

On Sunday August 13, 1939, the Youth Group of Brooklyn is giving a picnic for MAN! at Coytsville, N. J. All readers in that area are invited to participate.

The Youth Group

COMMUNICATIONS

Benjamin R. Tucker

A card has reached us from those who were close to Benjamin R. Tucker stating:

Died on June 22nd, 1939, at his home villa "Lugerneta", Point Sainte-Devote, Monaco, France, at the age of 85 BENJAMIN R. TUCKER. Cremation, the deceased and his family's ideal for the disposal of the dead, being impracticable in view of the attending circumstances in Monaco, the burial (civic, private and without mourning, according to his express wish) took place on June 24th, 1939.

Tucker was born in Massachusetts in 1854. He is best known for the individualist-anarchist weekly "Liberty" which he edited and published for a period of ten years.

Tucker introduced the work of Proudhon, Stirner, Pareto and others to the American public.

At this time we make no further comment. In a forthcoming issue we hope to give a biographical sketch of the Anarchist Benjamin Tucker as written by one of his close associates in "Liberty."

* * *

Michael A. Cohn

As we are about to go to press, the sad news reaches us of the death of comrade Michael A. Cohn on Monday, July 10, 1939 at La Jolla, California. He was 73 years old.

Modern School Conference

As this is the year of the 30th anniversary of the passing of Francisco Ferrer we are devoting a day to his memory and work, during our Annual Convention, which takes place this year on Sept. 2nd, 3rd and 4th, Labor Day weekend in Stelton, N. J.

As we expect to have some interesting speakers and will ourselves devote some time to his educational work we are counting on an instructive and stimulating day on Sunday Sept. 3rd.

Will you find the space to remind organizations in the East that we shall be pleased if they will not hold conflicting meetings at that time.

You will have the thanks of the Board of Management as well as that of,

Yours sincerely,

Alexis C. Ferm, Sec'y.

A Correction

In the last issue we stated that the Duval Group of Brooklyn, N. Y. is arranging a picnic for MAN! and L'ADUNATA. This is a mistake. The picnic, which will be held on August 20, 1939 at the Brandt farm in New York, is for the benefit of L'ADUNATA and was not arranged by the Duval Group. However, at this picnic the Duval group will close its initiative for both MAN! and L'ADUNATA.

We urge all readers of our journal who live in the vicinity of the picnic grounds to attend this affair and to give their support to the work of the Duval Group.

* * *

The Youth Group of Brooklyn, N. Y. (118 Cook Street), asks all readers who have ordered books and failed to receive same to communicate with them at once—as some mail pertaining to the Book Department has been mislaid.

To Our Readers

Our readers will undoubtedly note that we are appearing in spite of a growing deficit. We are threatened by the curtailment of the regular appearance of this journal unless our readers respond to this threat.

We hardly believe that anyone in symphaty with our work would wish to see the regular appearance of MAN! made impossible—especially at this time when the government of this land is endeavoring, through every effort, to imprison our editor and to effectuate his deportation.

The most effective answer which our readers and friends can render to the opposing forces trying so hard to crush our voice is the immediate forwarding of sufficient financial contributions which will warrant a continued regular appearance of this journal.

Our work is both a cause and result of the response of those who see in it some value to man and humanity. When and if this response no longer comes, our work will lose much of its value.

MAN!

* * *

Financial Statement

From Groups:

Phillipsburg (share of affair) $15.00; Los Angeles, affair, $11.35; Circolo D'Emancipazione Sociale (share of affair), $10.00; Radical Library, $3.00; Kropotkin Group, Stelton, $3.00; Allentown Group, $1.00.

From Individuals:

George Borrow (newspaper sales), $5.00; Jack O'Dell, $4.50; H. Mathewson, $3.00; Monroe Bartlett, $2.50; A. S, $1.80; Juliet Woodville, $1.25; L. A. Newspaper sales, $1.07; One dollar: Fred Bersanti; A. V. Werden, Jean Maltese, Charles Meyers, R. B. García; J. W. Wilson, E. Gava, M, Repleog, Leo Moio, T. Banister, Mateo Rico, Anna Schwartz; Clifton Bennett, .35; Harry K. Miller, .25.

TOTAL INCOME	$77.07
Expenditures	$104.05
Previous Deficit	$37.31
TOTAL DEFICIT	$66.29